

THE
PRETENSIONS
Of the Several
CANDIDATES
FOR THE
Crown of *Spain*,
DISCUSS'D.

And the Necessity of the King of
PORTUGAL's being Declar'd
Successor to His Catholick Majesty, in
order to the Preservation of the *Spanish*
Monarchy, and the Peace of *Europe*,
PROV'D,

*In a Letter from a Spanish Nobleman to a Counsellor of
State at Madrid.*

*To which is added, A Discourse of a Venetian Gen-
tleman on the same Subject, in Favour of the
late Electoral Prince of Bavaria, in opposition to
the Duke of Anjou, and the Arch-Duke of Austria.*

Wash done out of Spanish.

L O N D O N:

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THE
TRANSLATOR
TO THE
READER.

THE following Papers have, as I understand, been for some time handed about in several Courts of Christendom; they being what we may in some sort stile the Cases of Two of the Candidates that have lately Put in for the Succession of Spain. They were both written in Spanish; for indeed this Great Cause was to come first to a Hearing in that Court. But the Parties it seems thought fit to have them sent abroad into the World, expecting perhaps that other Judges are like to interpose in the Decision of so important a Controversy, which in truth is of that vast Consequence, that there is scarce a Prince or

State in Europe, but may think themselves concern'd to have a Vote in the Final Determination of it.

I do not pretend that either of these Papers is own'd by the Parties whose Cause they plead; the Titles they bear shew the contrary. The former goes under the Name of a Spanish Nobleman retired from Court, one that seeks only the Publick Good of his Country, and therefore is mightily discontented at the present ill management of Affairs: The other of a Venetian Gentleman, i. e. of one wholly disinterested in the Cause any further than Common Justice and the General Peace of Europe is concern'd. And therefore if any Expressions are let fall by either of them, not altogether consistent with that profound Respect which is due to Crown'd Heads, and other Sovereigns, they are to be ascrib'd to the Chagrin of the one, and the others being a Member of a Free Commonwealth, of which sort of Government Liberty of Speech is usually accounted one of the Chiefest Privileges.

The former, I confess, in some places, stands in need of an Apology of this kind;
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nay, he hath made himself so obnoxious, that I have been oblig'd to mollify some of his Expressions, and wholly to leave out others, which in truth are not fit to be spoken in English; and whoever is Affected to the Cause he pleads, will take this omission as a kindness: And he seems to be somewhat Conscious himself, of his being liable to censure; and therefore he takes great care to lie conceal'd, pretending in a Prefatory Epistle, that this Piece was at first Publish'd at Cologne, by the Famous Invisible, or as he calls him Enchanted Printer Pierre Marteau, and there is in the Manuscript likewise a formal Epistle in that Printer's Name, wherein he communicates the Piece to the World as a mighty secret, which one Antonio Home Perez an Exiled Portuguese, whose Name is put to the former Epistle, pretends there to have Translated out of French into his own Language for the Benefit of his Country. But the Manuscript is in pure Spanish, and perhaps this is the first time it ever appear'd in Publick, or in any other Language; and possibly the Reader will find sufficient Cause to suspect that it came originally from a

Portuguese Hand. Monsieur the President Rouille, the French Ambassador at Lisbon, was of this Opinion, when he complain'd of it at that Court last Summer, if this be the same (as I believe it is) that so much Alarm'd him.

But though it be very probable, that the Author is a Subject of Portugal; yet I do not think there is any great cause to accuse him of Flattery, in the Character he gives of his suppos'd Master. For if we make the ordinary Allowances for Expression in Panygirick, there is nothing said but what his Portuguese Majesty may be justly thought to deserve, at least if we can give credit to the Consenting Reports of all that have been at Lisbon, and convers'd with those that have the Honour to approach the Person of that King; and he is a Prince whom the meanest of his Vassals may have an easy access to; They as well as those of other Ranks and Orders have their Day of Audience assign'd them in the Weekly Course, and are freely admitted into the Presence of the Common Father of their Country, to acquaint him of their Grievances, their Wants, or of the little
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services they may have done to the Publick, or to the Crown. And he is so attentive to their Story, that they seldom leave him in Discontent ; for they are sure of his Justice, and few fail to partake of his Charity, or his Bounty, there being not many Families in the Kingdom , but are some way or other obliged to the Crown for part of their sustenance. Insomuch that though perhaps there be not a Prince in Europe of such large Revenues, in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions ; yet His are scatter'd among his People with so liberal a Hand, that the Great and Rich Duke of Braganza, is become but a very poor King of Portugal ; and indeed did not the Duke (whose Estate is kept intire and separate from the Domains of the Crown) sometimes help out the King , it wou'd go very hard with him to support his Government. But as poor as he is, his Poverty never tempts him to the Violation of Justice, of which he is as exact an Observer in his Private Dealings, as in the Publick Administration. As often as he hath an occasion to supply his Magazines with Stores for his Forces either by Sea or

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Land,

Land, there is a great Contention among the Merchants, Foreigners as well as Natives, who shall be the Man to furnish his Majesty; all professing themselves more ready to deal with him, than with those they have power to distrain on: Not that they can make any great Advantage of him neither, for his Majesty will drive as hard a Bargain as the best of 'em; but his Pay is more quick and sure. In a word, the general course of this Prince's Actions show him to be a truly Just, Good, and Religious King; I should have said Religious in the first place, for 'tis to That that all the good Qualities which are so conspicuous in his Majesty are owing, as we may perceive by the contrary Excesses into which the Best Natural Dispositions do often fall, when That is wanting. If some Personal Failings are remarkable in this Prince's Private Conduct, they may well be ascrib'd to the defects of the Religion Practis'd in his Country, of which he is a most Zealous Professor; or at least that very great Indulgence which it allows to some certain Infirmities of Human Nature. Were That Religion in all respects Pure and Undeiled, there is
great

great cause to hope that the Life of this Prince would (common Failings excepted) have been so too.

There is one Quality in this Prince, that the Author of the following Paper insists very much upon, which I cannot forbear taking notice of here, and that is his great Love to Peace. It is true, that nothing can be alledged against what he brings as a Proof of it; it being certain that the Peace with Spain was ratified immediately upon his taking upon him the Government, (tho if I remember aright, it was treated and agreed upon some time before); and it is certain also, that he hath never come to an open Rupture with any of his Neighbours during the whole time of his Government, i. e. for above these Thirty Years. But the Author might withal have observed, that this Pacifick Disposition of his King ought to be wholly ascrib'd to his Love for Justice, and not in the least any want of a true Greatness of Mind, or Martial Courage, wherein perhaps he hath few Equals of his Rank (possibly but One his Superior.) His very Sports and Recreations from his Childhood have been always so
many

many Demonstrations of a Warlike Disposition, and an unusual Bravery of Person. It is commonly said, and (which is more) generally believed, that for strength of Body, and skill in Horsemanship, in which latter his Subjects pretend, and perhaps with reason, to excel all other Nations of Europe, He hath scarce his Equal in his Kingdom. And he gives sufficient Proofs of his Excelling in both, as often as he retires to Divert himself at Alcantara, where (as they who love to speak fine things on this occasion tell us) by his subduing of Brutes, He shews what we might expect from him had he a fair occasion of Signalizing himself against those Monsters of Men who by their Oppression and Violence are a common Plague to their fellow-creatures. But as there is cause to think that love to Justice, and a Fatherly tenderness to his People, have hitherto kept him quiet, so there is little reason to doubt but that had he a just cause to appear in Arms, his small Kingdom of Portugal would not hold him long. The Spaniards (which our Author doth well to conceal) were sensible-enough of this when in 1682,

as I take it, his Portuguese Majesty, thinking himself aggriev'd by their Encroachment upon his Boundaries in Brazil, appointed them a short Day to make him satisfaction, which gave such an Alarm to the Court of Madrid, that the Duke of Giovanazzo was sent Post to Lisbon to pacifie him. For no less considerable a Minister than this Duke, whose Abilities the Court of France, the School of Politicks, were afraid of, (which made them refuse to admit him when sent Ambassador from his Catholick Majesty) no less a Person I say was thought fit to treat with this Great King, (truly Great in himself) and yet the Duke of Giovanazzo himself was sufficiently sensible of his Majesties Superior Genius; for tho it be said that he had got no small Advantage over the Ministers, yet he met with an over-match in the Person of the King; nor could he forbear expressing how much he was struck with Admiration not only of this King's great and generous Soul, but likewise of his solid judgment, and deep Penetration. These are Qualities which a considerable Writer of ours will by no means allow to belong to a Hero;

Hero; But the Example of his Portugueze Majesty is enough to confute him; The foresaid Duke being not the only Publick Minister that hath admired the Great Endowments of Mind in this Prince. For if I am not much misinformed, all in general who bear that Character, agree in their reports of the same thing; whenever they desire to have Audience of his Majesty, be their Errand what it will, or come they never so well prepar'd, they find he is not to be surprized at any time, but always ready to treat with them upon the spot about the most difficult matters, having an Answer at command to their studied Proposals, which if it be not always satisfactory, will yet appear so plausible that they'l be often hard put to it for a Reply; and if he does never give them the Change, they'l sometimes come to understand he might have done it if he wou'd,

There is one Topick which I have some cause to wonder that the Author has not so much as touched upon, that is the great Expectation his Country-men are in, to see the Accomplishment of certain Predictions, which promise a mighty Agrandisement

ment of the Portugueze Nation, to begin just about this time, of which this Dom Pedro the Second, or at least Prince John his Son is to be the Instrument; and there are who assure him of no less than an Universal Monarchy, of which not the People only, but the Wisest Men of the Nation have been almost infallibly certain for these many years, as appears from a vast number of their best Writers, who have been harping upon this thing, when there was no prospect of any such great Alteration of the Affairs of Europe, as appears at present. Nay they were very hot upon it soon after their Revolt from the Spaniards, when they were every day ready to be swallowed up by that then by far more Powerful Nation. And this matter has been so well improv'd since the Jesuits have taken it in hand, that he is hardly to be thought a Good Portugueze who makes the least doubt of seeing the promis'd Events. Padre Viera a Person of the greatest Esteem among persons of all ranks, that perhaps any Jesuit ever attain'd to in Portugal, in a Sermon of his preach'd upon the Birth of the first Child the King had

had by her present Majesty, His Text being taken out of one of the foremention'd Prophecies, made it plain beyond all possibility of contradiction, That the Young Prince was to be Emperour of the World. But as ill luck was, the first News the Father heard from Lisbon after the Preaching of his Sermon was, That the Royal Infant died in a short time after he was born. However the Father had the assurance to Print his Sermon, and to it he joyns another, wherein he explains his meaning in the first, and shows how that all he had said was fulfilled by the Prince his having receiv'd an Imperial Crown in Heaven. But withal he remain'd as positive as before, That the Portuguese Fifth Monarchy was shortly to begin here on Earth; and among other Predictions he produceth one which in express terms declares that it is to take its rise upon the death of a Charles King of Spain.

*But our Author it seems had more discretion than to mention this matter, for fear belike of giving jealousie to the Princes of Europe, who might be the more
lack.*

backward to oppose One who seems to have some remote Designs upon the Universal Monarchy, should they see Another just ascending to it over his and their Heads : But if this were the Author's fear, I believe it was altogether Groundless, being perswaded that other Nations do not in the least envy the Portugueses the Happiness of all their Glorious Hopes, but on the contrary I believe that most people wish they may in some measure succeed to expectation. And it's possible some may look for a good effect from them, especially since they are manag'd by such wise Leaders of the people as the Jesuits have always been. Comines doth somewhere take notice, that the English in his time were mightily addicted to the observation of such sort of Predictions, and if I mistake not he ascribes to the hopes they conceiv'd from thence, their great Obstinacy in many of their Bloody Battels among themselves. If these should have a like influence on the Portugueses, who as to matters of Knowledge seem to be in much the same Circumstances as the Englishmen were in Comines his time, they may be animated thereby

by to a stouter Defence of Spain in case of an Invasion; and I am verily perswaded, that They whose Concern it is to have Europe equally Ballanc'd, would gladly see his Portuguese Majesty become Universal Monarch of Spain upon the present King's Decease, tho it were with the hazard of his Accomplishing the remaining part of the Prophecies.

*Since Providence hath reduc'd the Competitors to a smaller Number than they lately were, I shall say but little to the Second Paper, not that I think it is become altogether Useless by what hath hapned; There being scarce any one Argument contain'd in it, but may be will applied in Favour of his Portuguese Majesty in Opposition to his Concurrents. The last argument by which the Author refutes what the Partisans of France rely most upon, makes much more strongly for this King, than it did for the late Electoral Prince; for we may be sure that He will be much more ready and zealous to defend Spain from a sudden Invasion when he acts for himself, than he would be in Asserting the Cause of one of his Competitors; and cou'd the King
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of Portugal with the same facility bring over to his Party the Powers, as he can the Arguments, that favour'd the late Electoral Prince his Cause, there is no doubt but that the Peace of Europe wou'd be settled upon such a firm and solid Basis, as wou'd be out of the Power of any Great Monarch to shake.

For the rest, the Translator doth not think himself oblig'd to Undertake: for every thing that is said in either the one or other of these Papers, or to Vouch for the justness of all the Arguments that are used in them, especially where either of the Authors seem to insinuate, that Convenience ought in any case to take place of Right; for Justice ought certainly to be done in all cases, whatever be the Consequences. But then he is much of Opinion, that if Justice shou'd prevail in any case, it ought to be in the Religious Observation of Agreements, made by Crown'd Heads, for the Common Benefit of Mankind; especially when they are enter'd upon, after mature deliberation, and ratify'd by the most solemn Acts of Religion; and this is the case of the Renunciation mention'd in the

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following Paper, which was the necessary Condition of the subsequent Marriage, that without it had never been concluded on. In this case there is no room left for any of those Quirks or Evasions which Lawyers have recourse to, where particular Persons are concern'd: For here no Fraud, Compulsion, or Surprise, can be alledg'd, all things having been done above-board, with the full and free consent of the Parties, and in consideration of the mutual Benefit of each other.

*And being much of the Venetian Gentleman's mind, That Rulers were appointed for the Benefit of Nations, and not the contrary; and believing likewise, that the Succession in Hereditary Kingdoms was restrain'd to certain Families for the People's good; i. e. to prevent the Miseries of War, which contending Factions might bring upon them; He is perswaded, that whenever the Conveniency of any particular Person shall become incompatible with the Publick Weal, and manifestly tend to bring upon whole Nations the same Calamities they sought to avoid at the Institution of their Government, it ought in Justice to
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give Place to the People's Right of Preserving themselves, which none can be suppos'd ever to have departed from. For that Maxim which was so horribly perverted among us by Wicked Men in our Father's Days, will notwithstanding hold good whenever it is rightly apply'd:

Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto.

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T H E
Introduction.

HAd a sincere and hearty desire, to apply an effectual Remedy for restoring this Crown to its lost Glory, been encourag'd, at a time when it was so much slighted, there would have been no place left for the present Debate, wherein your Excellency desires my Opinion ; For the substance of what I shall offer had been long since put in Execution, and that with far less hazard than it can be at present. But since Interest hath established to it

The Introduction.

it self a Sovereign Dominion in all Courts, it hath banish'd from thence both Zeal and Truth; People now seldom speak there as they think, or take any Care to manage things to Advantage; Every Man's own Convenience blinds the Eyes of his Reason, and his particular Benefit takes place of the publick Good. The King suffers by the Alienation of his Revenues, the Kingdom by the loss of its Glory, the People under their heavy Imposts, the Provinces by the Male-Administration of the Governors, and the Spanish Name suffers among all Nations, through the failure of its Reputation, none seeking for a Remedy to all these great Evils; no Vigilance or Precaution used to prevent our being surprized with greater. It is a
sad

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sad thing to Consider, That the Revenues of the Crown should encrease only to diminish its Splendour ; and that our Ancient Kings, without such vast Dominions, should acquire the Possession of what their Successors now enjoy, and these want Power to Defend what they were able to Conquer. But since Truth is grown so odious at Courts, who is there that will care to have any thing to do with her ? All Men naturally desire to Advance themselves, and while Flattery is the best recommendation they can have recourse to, this shall be their means of attaining to that End ; and few will have the courage to speak their Minds freely for fear of incurring Displeasure. However, When a Man's Eyes are fix'd upon his Duty, they will be blind to

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his Interest, and even to their Frowns on whom his Fortunes depend. He will be Zealous for the good of his King, and his Counsels will be such as tend most to the Advantage of the Monarchy, and the Ease of the People; nor will he spare to declaim against the Profusion of the Royal Treasures: But above all, his main Concern will be to recover and preserve the Honour of his Country. These I confess are things that few Mind, and therefore it is that I cannot be heard, which is the Cause, as Your Excellency knows, That I have withdrawn my self to this obscure place of Retreat, where Yours came to my hands on the 14th instant; wherein your Excellency desires to know my Sentiments concerning the Succession
to

The Introduction.

to the Crown. I should be very glad if Your Excellency would Excuse me from speaking my Mind to this matter, but that I find my Duty and Obedience in this Case so combined together, that tho' I know very well how insignificant my Vote will be, yet I cannot forbear delivering my Opinion without Disguise or Delay.

THE
ANSWER
OF A

Spanish Nobleman,
Withdrawn from COURT, &c.

AS to the Propofal from *France*,
mention'd by your Excellency,
I do not think it is by any means to
be admitted. For by this Election,
both Nobility and People will fee
their Ruin brought forth at one
Birth ; the former by the Destructi-
on of their Privileges, the other
by the Augmentation of their Taxes.
All the World knows, what a Def-

spotick Power the King of *France* has assumed to himself since his coming to the Government; and every one may easily foretell, what Wars this Kingdom will necessarily be Embroil'd in, against all the Princes of *Europe*, who will joyn their Forces together to beat down that Universal Monarchy which *France* aspires to, as they did formerly against our Kings, while they were suspected of the same Design: While *Spain* must be forced to bear the Charge of the War, as well because the *French* Funds are by this time wholly exhausted, as for that the *French* will think our Ruin the best means to secure themselves of our Subjection. But here it will be objected, That the King of *France* pretends not to the Possession of this Monarchy, but for his Grandson, the Duke of *Anjou*, second Son to the Dauphin, and Great Grandson to *Philip* the Fourth of Glorious Memory; by which means

means the two Crowns will remain divided between that Prince and the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother : And he being but Twelve years of Age, by being Educated in *Spain*, his Inclinations will be form'd to the Customs, Manners, and Laws of the Country ; That he will grow Jealous of his Brother's Designs, and rather oppose than favour them, and so transmit the Crown of *Spain* to his own Posterity. It may be considered likewise, say some, That in case the Two Brothers hold a good Correspondence together, they will be then able to give Law to the rest of *Europe* : But against all these Reasonings, there is something to be said that well deserves our Consideration.

Let us suppose in the first place, That the Duke of *Burgundy*, Heir to the Crown of *France*, should Die without Issue , (which is a thing that's possible) in such a Case, none
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can doubt but that the Duke of *Anjou*, the then King of *Spain* must succeed his Brother to the Crown of *France*, according to all Laws Municipal and Civil ; by which means the Two Crowns must necessarily be united together. Let us consider likewise, That if the Duke of *Anjou* should Die without Children, (which likewise may fall out) here will be another occasion for Uniting the Two Monarchies ; for the Duke of *Burgundy* will not fail to succeed his Brother : But granting that neither of these Princes are like to Die without Issue , yet some of their Descendants may ; so that at the long run, we shall fall into the Evil we ought to be so careful now to avoid.

Let us suppose again, That the Duke of *Burgundy*, inheriting that turbulent and haughty Spirit, which is so remarkable to all the World in his Grand-Father, should go about

bout to deprive his Brother of the Crown of *Spain*, on pretence that he hath no Right to it, and should be so Fortunate as to Conquer this Monarchy, (which GOD forbid) uniting it as a Province to his Empire ; This Case affords us a very dreadful and melancholy Prospect, and yet it is certain that our History furnishes us proof enough of the possibility of the thing. *Ferdinando* the First, divided his Dominions between his Three Sons ; and *Sancho* the Second, deprived his Brothers of the Thrones they were possessed of, according to the distribution made by their Father, and that upon pretence that the Father had no Right to make it, and Force was used for a Reason. In *France* it self, Examples of this sort are not wanting, nor in other Kingdoms, Cases of a like Nature. What Mischiefs did not the Sons of *Clovis* and *Clotaire* contrive against one another, that they might Usurp each others

others Crown? What Acts of Hostility were there not committed by *Theodebert* and *Thierri*, Kings of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*, to deprive one another of the Scepters *Gontran* their Father had divided between them, without alledging any other Pretext than the Right of *Primogeniture*? The Partition made by the Father signified nothing, tho' it had been before Consented to and Accepted by the Sons themselves; who notwithstanding could not be kept from Annulling all former Acts of Consentments; and to decide their Pretensions in the Field. I should bring many other Instances of this sort, but that your Excellency is so well acquainted with them already; and, why should we go so far to seek them?

Did not *Louis* the XIV. himself, by a solemn Act, relinquish all Pretensions to the Inheritance of *Spain*,
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at his Contract of Marriage with the *Infanta Donna Maria Theresa*? and has not he afterwards annulled that Cession, on pretence that it was prejudicial to his Descendents, that were Unborn at the time of that Contract? And how shall a puissant Prince Consent to an Act made in Favour of his second Brother, in Opposition to the Right which Nature has given him?

But let us grant, That the Duke of *Anjou* shall have Children, and that his Brother will not Dispute his Right, What Advantage can there Accrue to *Spain* from the Government of a Frenchman? It is certain, that the Inconveniencies will be far greater than the Benefits; the Scene of Things will necessarily be changed all over *Spain*; the *Spanish* Gravity will be turn'd into *French* Lightness; the *Spanish* Mode, which for so many Ages has been approv'd of as agreeable to the seriousness of the Nation,

tion, must give place to the changeable variety of *French* Fashions, which will be introduced in Contempt of our Nation; and the People to make their Court the better, will be tempted to spend their Estates in frequent change of Cloaths, and so Ruin themselves by following the Fashion. The *Castilian* Language will be Corrupted by the Introduction of the *French*, as it hath happened in all Places where that is used. We shall forget and despise our own Tongue for the sake of a strange one, which has the advantage of it in nothing but its Novelty: And it may be, that notwithstanding the Natural Modesty of the *Spanish* Women, their Honour may be in Danger, and they come to be corrupted by the Licitious Customs of that Nation, and then we shall see our Wives and our Daughters taking the same unseemly liberty as the French-women do. For this is certain, That the French
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have so great an esteem and fondness for their own Manners and Customs, above all others, that they will leave nothing unattempted to induce us to change ours for theirs ; and tho' these Consequences are no light matter, yet those that I shall next consider are of much greater Importance.

It is certain, That the Duke of *Anjou*, being once admitted to the Succession, will bring along with him from his Grand-Fathers Court, a numerous Train of Cavaliers, all instructed in the Maxims they are to follow : They will not perhaps be so many at first for fear of giving suspicion, but the multitude will encrease by little and little ; and thus will the French creep into all Military Employments both by Sea and Land, by that means Naturalizing themselves in the Kingdom, and covering their Designs with the Pretext of their being far better

better skilled in Military Discipline than the *Spaniards* are; and that therefore we shall be far better serv'd by Employing them; whereas, their real end will be nothing else but to fortifie themselves by this means against the *Austrians*, of whom they will always have a Jealousie. The Grandees of the Kingdom must expect to be no longer such when He comes to be Great; for his first and chief Maxim, from which he never can depart, will be, to have no Sharers with him in Power, as is sufficiently manifest from Experience, which should teach us to take warning from the Evils of others. For if we take a Survey of the Politics of the House of *Bourbon*, we shall find, that from its first grasping the Scepter of *France*, it has been the very fundamental *Basis* of its Despotick Power, to Derogate from the Prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood, to deprive the Peers of the Kingdom of their Prehemi-
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nences, to destroy the Privileges of Parliaments and Provinces, taking away the liberty of Suffrage from the one, and the Authority of the other; leaving not the least Power to any, that there might be none to contradict their *Tel est-nostre plaisir*, Violence putting Reason to silence, and suppressing all Complaints. Who ever saw among so many Armies that *France* maintains to support her Ambition, and so many Fleets wherewith she covers the Seas and the Ocean, either a *Prince* of the *Blood*, or Person of the first Quality, in the Office of *Generalissimo* or *Admiral*? There is not one of Them that can be trusted in such Posts as these: But Persons of a Baser Mettle are preferred before them, as we see by the Chiefs that at present Command the *French* Forces both by Sea and Land: For indeed it is such only as Tyranny can confide in. But if *France* doth thus behave her self towards those

of her own Blood and Nation, What will she not do to Strangers, when she gets them under her Government? when the only way to make her Dominion lasting, is to weaken them. It being certain, that to hinder us from withdrawing our selves from under her Tyranny, it will be necessary to turn us out of all manner of Employments that will give us any Power. The *Ecclesiasticks*, who are so apt to take part with *France*, will fare no better than the rest by this Election. For they will be forc'd to renounce their Exemptions from *Aleabalas* and Taxes, and to lay heavy Contributions on themselves for the raising of exorbitant Sums, or else lie expos'd to continual Vexations, of which they will never be able to free themselves. The Provision to Benefices will be Devolved to the King, and depend on his good Pleasure according to the Custom of *France*: It being an easie matter to
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obtain of the *Pope*, the same Indult in *Spain* as he hath already granted for the Conquer'd Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, so that the Ecclesiastick State will be in the same Dependence and Subjection to the King as the Laity are.

In fine, *My Lord*, We shall all be Sufferers by an Election which we are all obliged to oppose, Why then should we so much as think of it? If by the Admission of a French King,* an end might be put to the Calamities of the *Spanish* Nation, such a Resolution might then be well Embrac'd; but if we have not the least reason to propose any such thing to our selves; nay, if it seems to be in a manner altogether impossible, Why do we not seek for our Remedy elsewhere? The Miseries of the Kingdom will never certainly cease by the Introduction of the *French* amongst us; they will never be the Authors of a

Golden Age : But if we consider things without Passion, we may be assured they will make our Condition to become much more wretched than it is at present. For *Spain* may be considered in two different ways, as united to *France*, or separate from it ; in either of which respects I foresee many unhappy Consequences likely to ensue.

If it be United, It will be our Lot to Drudge for *France*, to procure for her the Universal Monarchy, to our great Detriment, but without the least Honour to our selves. All Nations will become our Enemies, upon the account of our being Subjects to a King they fear and hate ; and when they Arm against him, they will be sure to Assault us ; *England* and *Holland*, in conjunction with the *Empire*, will make War upon us. The *Portugueses* will never suffer us to be at rest : Nay, the very *Moors*,
when

when they see us beset on all sides, will be for Invading our Liberty. Our Country will lie exposed to Invasions ; our Conquests will be ready to change Masters ; our Fleets will become Prize to *Corfsairs*, whereby to bear the Charges of our Enemies : *Your Excellency* knows well, that I have said nothing but what Experience hath show'd to be possible.

In the time when *Spain* was at the heighth of her Glory, and pretended to *Lord it* over all the rest of *Europe*, there was no Nation in the World but put it self in Opposition to us. *England* sought our Destruction ; *Venice* long'd for our Ruin ; and *France* Humbled us at the last. *Holland* Rebelled ; *Catalonia* Mutined ; *Naples* was in an Uproar ; *Portugal* Revolted : We lost *Burgundy*, *Roussillon* ; we lost a great part of *Brasil*, and the *Indies*, and the *Low-Countries*. Into the

new World, which acknowledg'd only the Spanish Empire, entred all Nations: As if God design'd to Chastize us for forming such vast Designs of an Universal Monarchy, by bringing us down the lower, while we were aspiring so high.

Now if all this besel us while *Spain* was separate from *France*, What can we look for when we shall be United? What Kingdom or Republick is there in the World, that will not zealously Concur to preserve their Common Liberty? *Portugal*, (which is so great a part of *Spain*) by the help of those Potentates that are now ready to assist her, will make War upon *France* in the Plains of *Castile*; *England* will attempt the Conquest of the *Indies*; The *Pope* will Invade *Naples*; The *Savoyard*, *Milan*; The *Hollanders* will be Dealing with the Magistrates of the other Provinces
of

of the *Low-Countries*, Inviting them with the Hopes of Liberty to an Union with their Republick ; imitating the *Cantons*, whom the difference of Religion doth not divide, nor doth it hinder them from Uniting in Interests. The *Emperor*, on the account both of his Pretensions to *Spain*, and his Jealousie of *France*, will join in League with the *Empire* and *Holland*, will find work for our Forces on the side of *Germany* and the *Low-Countries*. The *Turk* will then be alarm'd at the Greatness of *France*, and break his Alliance with her, and desist from his War with the Emperor to fall upon us. And it will be very hard for *France* to defend it self with Success in so many different and distant Places. For by how much more vast an Empire is, so much greater is the necessity of having numerous Forces. They seem indeed at present to be very great which *France* hath on

Foot, because they are employed within the Circumference of the Kingdom ; but the Case will be otherwise, when she shall find her self under the necessity of Defending *Spain, Naples, Milan, and the Indies*, distributing them into so many distant Parts against so many Princes. There was a time, when we, to save the Royal Patrimony, lost the Possession of *Portugal*, with part of what belong'd to *Castile*. And *France* we may be sure, the better to defend that which is her own, will abandon to Destruction that which is ours, being more concern'd for her own Defence than our Preservation. But to conclude this Point, The Potentates of *Europe* are all engaged to prevent this Union, and to consider in time, how they may best hinder it, having before their Eyes a prospect of those general Calamities, in which they will all necessarily
be

be involved, in case the design of it should take effect.

If we consider *Spain* as separated from the Obedience of *France*, a French Prince, even in that Case, will be far from bringing along with him those Blessings that we stand in need of; for what Nation is there that ever found a *French* Government supportable. Let *Naples* speak, where the Violences of the *French* contributed so much to the Augmentation of the *Arragonesse* Party against *Louis* the Twelfth: Or witness *Sicily*, where their Tyranny was so great, as to give occasion to the *Sicilian Vespers*, so famous throughout the World: Or let *Poland* be heard, Where they cry out with so much Zeal against the Election of *Conti*; remembering what they suffered under the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France*. The Natives of *Cy-*
prus,

prus, chose voluntarily to leave their Country and Estates, and live Poor in a strange Land, rather than endure the Government of *Guy de Lucignan*. The *Genoveses* are likewise sufficient Evidence of the Exorbitancies of that Nation; they having twice had the mishap to Experience the French Tyranny, which hath as often reduc'd them to that desperate State, as that they have been forc'd to shake off the Yoke. Since all People then complain of a *French* Government, Why should we think better of it? or be more fond of a People that have never been wanting to make us sensible of their Ill-Will? Why can we not be made to understand, that our Liberty will infallibly be turn'd into Slavery? Or can we persuade our selves, that we shall be better treated than others have been before us? But if our Usage be the same,
the

the Violences of an Arbitrary Power will certainly prove more intolerable to us, who have hitherto been accustomed to a mild and easie Government. We shall see all the great Offices of the Kingdom expos'd to Sale, Places at Court will be bestowed on them that bid most, the same Custom will be observed here in regard to Military Posts and Civil Employments, as is in *France*. Our Sons will be obliged to Marry *French* Women, and tho' we are all sensible enough of the Mischief that will ensue thereupon, yet will it not be in our Power to avoid it; But like Men bewitch'd, we shall pursue our own Evil, as if we were led thereto by a fatal kind of Necessity. For those same Maxims, which hitherto have every where succeeded, are not like to fail of Success among us; and their Projects under some disguise or
other

other, (for they'll try all) will almost necessarily take effect.

We shall see to our Grief, when we cannot help it, our Governments and Viceroyships, conferred on *French* Men, who will always have a Jealous Eye upon us, on the account of our uneasiness under them. We shall Ruin our selves to maintain their Fleets and Armies, which will serve only to raise the Glory of *France*; and that Court will always have an Influence over ours, to make us subservient to its Designs. Our Ministers will be Inveigl'd to favour their Pretensions, through force of Persuasion, or some specious Appearances of Advantage; or they will be corrupted underhand, by secret Bribes; or they will be over-ruled by their Wives, which the *French* have ever found the surest way to gain their Ends.

These

These Things may perhaps appear for the present pure Chimerical Imaginations, but Time will prove them to be real Truths, in case the ill Fortune of *Spain* shall bring her under a *French* Yoke : And therefore, *My Lord*, What is it that should oblige us to think of an Expedient accompanied with so many intolerable Inconveniencies ? Let us consider the Interests of our Nation ; Let us have an Eye to the Danger that threatens us ; not forgetting what little Credit is to be given to French Promises. *France* indeed, offers us the Reunion of *Portugal* to *Castile*, and of the *United Provinces* to *Flanders* ; but, how shall we depend upon these Offers ? There is no doubt, but that in case of a Union of the Two Crowns, they will Unite these and other Provinces too under the same Pretence of Reunion,

union, whereby they have Usurp'd so many Countries ; But if *Spain* be kept Separate from *France* , they will never think of such a Restitution ; but on the contrary, will stand by the *Portugueses*, and encourage the *Hollanders* against us ; and will never suffer us to take any Advantage over the one or other of those Countries. No Man ever found Truth in the Mouth of a *French* Man ; and the world knows how easily they of late retracted in *Holland*, what they had proposed in *Sweedland*. *Francis* the First , by his renouncing the Treaty of *Madrid* , gives an uncontestable proof of the Perfidy, so usual with that Nation ; and indeed, they are so accustom'd to it, that it seems that they do not so much as know what Truth is. *Christ* put the Question to *Pilate*, (who, as *Historians* report, was a *French* Man) *Quid est veritas ?* By which
we

we may see, that the *French* of old, had not the least acquaintance with it.

And since these are the infallible Consequences of an Election of a *French* Prince; and since that the Evils that will ensue upon both the Nobility and People, are so certain; I cannot see, how any *Spaniard*, without being a Traytor to his Nation, his Countrymen, and to himself, shou'd go about to Sacrifice us all, to the perpetual loss of our Repose and Liberty. I am far from thinking, That *Your Excellency* can be of this Mind; I have better Thoughts of your mature Judgment and Zeal for your Country, than to suspect, that you should give Entertainment to an Opinion that cannot be conceiv'd without Horrour. But, I am afraid, there are many who built Castles in the Air, which by their fall, will destroy

stroy us all. For my part, I speak without Partiality or Hatred : And I wish all the World knew the Sincerity wherewith I deliver my real Sentiments, which I am induc'd to, by a true Zeal, and not Interest, which I have made to give place to the other. I desire nothing more than the Good of my Country and Country-Men, who shall never blame me for Cooperating to their Ruin, by my Omission or Silence.

The Prince Electoral of *Bavaria*, considering the Renunciation to the Crown of *Spain*, made by the *Infanta Donna Maria Theresa de Austria*, afterwards Queen of *France*, and Grand-Mother to the Duke of *Anjou*; as also by the Relinquishment of the Most Christian King of the Succession to the same Crown, (ratified in a solemn Treaty at the *Pyrenees*) has in appearance the greatest Right on his side,

side, as being Grand-Son to the Empress, *Margarita de Austria*, Daughter to Philip the Fourth, and Wife of the Emperor *Leopold*; by whom she had only one Daughter, the Arch-Dutcheß *Maria Antonia*, married to the Elector *Maximilian*, the present Governor of the *Low-Countries*, by whom she became Mother to the Prince pretending to the Crown. But there are many important Circumstances, which when well considered, will make his Pretensions appear not to be so well grounded as at first they may seem to be.

The First is, That this Prince is a Stranger, Born of Parents that are no *Spaniards*, he being the Grandson, and not the Son of an *Infanta* of
D Spain;

Spain ; nor can he marry the Heiress of that Crown ; and so is he excluded by the Laws and Constitutions of the Monarchy. And if we consider the Right of Consanguinity only, he ought to give place to the Duke of *Anjou* ; who stands in the same Degree, but in a better Line, being Grandson of the eldest Daughter, and Son of a Son ; whereas, the Prince of *Bavaria* is Grandson of the second Daughter, and Son of a Daughter : So that the first being excluded, there is no Cause for the admission of the second, unless it be for some Reasons of State ; which, as I shall prove, will not hold good.

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The Prince *Fernando*, only Son to his Electoral Highness, is a Child of Five Years old, and therefore incapable of himself to perform the Office of a King; so that it will be necessary that Ministers be named to be his Governors during his Minority: Who, as Experience hath taught us, are likely to do more hurt than good, to both Nobility and People. And the Constitution of our Monarchy, requires a King that can Govern well, and not a Prince that shall himself be Govern'd Ill.

He is eldest Son to the *Elect*or, and as such, Heir to the Estates and Dignity of his Father; and these Circumstances will afford several Reasons, which shew the Election

of this Prince to be contrary both to our Honour and our Interest. As *First*, Why shou'd we have for King an *Elector* of the *Empire* ? It will not a little diminish the Lustre of this Crown, to have it worn by one who acknowledges the Superiority of another. *Secondly*, That, The Estates of *Bavaria*, being United to *Spain*, we shall be under the necessity of maintaining Forces for the defence of both. We shall then have two *Flanders* to be the Scenes of our Tragedies, and Rocks for splitting our Hopes. We shall be continually embroil'd with the House of *Austria*, as well as with the House of *Bourbon*, and must come to a Decision of our Differences, as well in the Plains of *Bavaria*, as in the *Low-Countries*.

There

There is no Question to be made, but that *France* will with all its Might, oppose this Prince in the peaceable Possession of the Crown ; so that it is certain , that the War will continue, but uncertain whether we shall have better Success therein than we have had hitherto ; and to run our selves upon a certain Evil, in hopes of an uncertain Remedy , is both Heresy in Policy , and Madness in Reasoning. The Desire the *Emperor* has to get this Crown for his Heirs , and put it upon the Head of his Son, the Arch-Duke *Charles* , will make him very highly resent the Election of the Prince of *Bavaria*, although he be his Grandson ; and this Resentment may breed a Hatred between the two

Houſes, the Conſequences of which may be a Seizure of the Electoral States, which we muſt be all oblig'd to defend, without the leaſt proſpect of Advantage to this Monarchy.

The Eſtates of the Empire, both Catholick and Proteſtant, will then grow jealous of the Power and Authority of *Bavaria*, and begin to think of preſerving their Liberty; the one on the account of their Rights, the other of their Religion: So that what from *France*, and what from the *Empire*, *Spain* will be ſure to ſuffer on all ſides, having the Prince of *Bavaria* for King. Nor can we expect any Succour from him, who will only weaken our Forces by employing them to ſecure and defend himſelf. *France* will be ready

dy to take Advantage from his Minority, and lay hold on the opportunity as most favourable to its Designs. The *Hollanders*, Jealous of the Great Power which the House of *Bavaria* has at present attain'd to, the *Elect*or being Governor of the Hereditary Countries in *Flanders*; and his Brother, Prince *Joseph Clement*, in Possession of the Electorate of *Cologne*, together with the Principalities of *Liege*, *Ratisbonne*, and *Hidersheim*, and in hopes likewise of *Munster*, may come to such a Resolution as is most agreeable to their Interests, to prevent any future design of calling them to an Account, of which the Remembrance of their Revolt from us, and their Offences since, will keep them always Apprehensive; and Joyning either

with *France* or *England*, will engage us in a perpetual War in the *Low-Countries*, the Theater of all Pretensions, and where all wreck their Revenge; and by setting so many Enemies upon our Backs, they'll be continually plaguing us, preserving in the mean time, their own Liberty and Union without any Trouble or Disturbance.

There is another thing which common Discretion obliges us to mind : *Euripides* hath a saying, That from a bad Father never comes a good Son. The Elector of *Bavaria* has, against all Reason, a natural Aversion and Contempt for the *Spaniards*, of which there are as many Witnesses, as there are Souldiers. How many Cavaliers and private Persons

Persons are there that have left *Flanders* since his Government? Under which, Germans, Italians, and French, are the only Persons Rewarded with Posts and Honours, in a Country belonging to our Sovereign; and that by a Governor, who at the same time hath his Dependance on the good Will of the Spaniards. If the Electoral Prince shall Inherit the same Aversion from his Father, and we chuse him for our King; let us consider that we are like to have an Enemy for our King; and if we dread the Consequences of such an Election, let us remove the Cause of our Fear. The Virtues of a Prince signifie but little when Love is wanting; there being nothing

thing that Subjects should desire more of their King, than his Affection. It is certain, that this is Cause sufficient to exclude him from the Crown.

I come now to give my Opinion concerning the 3d Point, mentioned by Your Excellency. I am sensible, that none can doubt of the Right which the most August House of *Austria* hath to this Monarchy, as being Descended of the Blood of *Ferdinand* the Catholick, our last Natural Born King; and on the account of the repeated Alliances of those two Houses, joyn'd with the inseparable Union and reciprocal Friendship that hath been between their Estates. But it often happens, That good Policy contradicts what Reason proposes; and that it is more
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conducive to the common good of a Nation, to follow That rather than This; (But by my Authors leave, I believe there is no Case wherein his Maxim will hold good, and that in what he is going to say, right Reason and good Policy are both of accord.) It is not just, that whole Nations should suffer for the particular Interests of their Sovereigns. Nature hath placed Spain at a great distance from the German Empire, so that we can expect no assistance from thence, unless it be by way of Diversion; but withal, She hath likewise set an Enemy at our Doors, and one so powerful, that notwithstanding all the Diversions that can be made to take him off, He is able not only to infest Spain, but totally to over-run it; who, if he now gives us so great Cause
to

to tremble, at a time when so many Potentates are in Arms against him; and while we have his Majesty among us, (may he long Live and Reign) into what a Consternation will he put this People, when being less embarrass'd, he shall set upon us in a State of Anarchy, and come to take Possession of a Vacant Throne? Will the Arch-Duke *Charles* be then able to dispute it out with him? who being at so great a distance, can do but little, either to prevent his Designs, or to Defend us from him.

There is no doubt, but that at the first breaking out of the War, the Empire may be able to employ him for some time, and so take up some part of his Forces, in order to preserve us from Slavery. But then

then, let us consider, That he will be there only on the Defensive, having his Frontiers well guarded with so many strong Places that he is in possession of on that side. But the gross of his Armies will march directly into *Catalonia*, where he will find an easie entrance, and where it will be a very hard matter for us to hold out against him, or to put the least stop to his Conquests. For an Orphan Kingdom, or such as hath a Pupil only for its King, when those at the Helm shall be divided in their Sentiments, and parted into Factions, the People in Confusion, and not knowing whose Orders to obey, will neither have Power to resist, nor be in a Condition to defend it self: So that we shall on a
sud-

fuddain find our selves in the
 State of a Conquer'd People,
 without being able to make
 Conditions for our selves,
 which might in some sort pal-
 liate our Disgrace, and give us
 a little ease under our future
 Vexations, when we shall be
 despoiled of our Priviledges and
 our Liberty.

Again, We should consider,
 That his *Imperial* Majesty hath
 only two Male Children, viz.
 The August King of the *Ro-*
mans, and the Arch Duke
Charles; so that there is the
 same Cause to fear the like In-
 conveniencies from these Prin-
 ces as I mention'd in the Case
 of *France*, in regard to the
 Succession, if either of them
 should fail. For in that Case,
 either the Arch Duke will be
 King of the *Romans*, or the
 King

King of the *Romans*, King of *Spain*, and what Advantage will there accrue to this Crown from a Union with the Empire? Not the least, but on the contrary, we shall see such a total Change of the face of things throughout the Kingdom, as was in the Reign of *Charles the Fifth*, when *Spain* paid so dear for the Glory of his Triumphs; and that Imperial King will be then forc'd to keep himself in a perpetual kind of Motion, and be continually Journeying to and fro from *Spain* to the Empire, and from the Empire to *Spain*; for neither will the *Germans* consent, that he should be always in *Spain*; nor can the Government of *Spain* subsist if he shall be always absent from it; for in that case, all publick Affairs must be at a stand, or be left

left in the Hands of Governours, which is a Novelty that will never prove agreeable to our *Genius*.

I cannot without Horror represent to my Imagination the formidable War which we shall draw upon our selves from *France*, upon the Election of the Arch-Duke. The *French* seeing all their Hopes to vanish, and their Pretensions slighted, will then set themselves to make good their Right by Force of Arms: For the League of the Princes that were lately in War against him being broken, before the Arch-Duke shall be able to renew it, we shall see the greatest Part of *Spain* overrun by the Conqueror; and that King being no longer embarras'd with his Enemies Arms in other parts

Parts, will fall upon us with his whole Forces, and both by Sea and Land assault us on every side, while our own Troops. less disciplined and worse provided, will be able to make but very small Resistance against so great a Power.

So that tho' the Right of Succession appertains to the Emperor by the Renunciation of *Bavaria*, stipulated at the Contract of Marriage between his Electoral Highness and the Arch-Duchess, Mother to Prince *Ferdinand*, and the Renunciation made by *France*, and confirmed by so many solemn Acts, which the many Books written on that Subject, prove to be sufficiently valid, altho' he be the most nearly related to the Royal Family: Yet are there many unanswerable Reasons against
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the Election of the Arch-Duke, which will bring upon us the most grievous Inconveniencies, such as are destructive of our Repose and Interest, and will expose us to all the Calamities above-mentioned, without giving us the least Hopes that his Admission will bring any Remedy to the Evils that we at present labour under.

But let us pass to the 4th Particular in your Letter : For my part I assure my self that your Excellency will always take them to be the truest *Spaniards*, who shall interest themselves in the calling in of the King of *Portugal*; nor can any assign a conclusive Reason why the Election of that Prince should not prove most advantageous to *Spain*; or why that of any other will not be destructive to our Peace. How beneficial
must

must it be to this Monarchy to be governed by a National King, one that is Ripe in Years, and has an established Succession : One that is mild and easie in his Government, and a Religious Observer of Justice, and who hath Forces at hand to succour and defend us ? What can a People desire more than to have a peaceable, just and good King, who will keep them free from the Alarms and Calamities of War, and preserve them in another kind of manner than those Princes do, whose private Ambition makes them overlook the Ruin of their Subjects ? What People or Nation is there that has not envied the Repose which the *Portugueses* enjoy under the Reign of this Prince, whom all *Europe* hath admired for his excellent Management in preserving to himself the Friend-ship

ship of all Nations, maintaining his People in such a Tranquillity as makes them the Envy of all other Nations? They live free from Imposts and Taxes, whilst other Potentates, notwithstanding the heavy Burthens wherewith they overcharge their Subjects, can scarce subsist, much less support the extraordinary Expences of the War, in which they have embroiled their People, and this without the least Prospect of bettering their Condition : While the *Portugueses* by the Moderation of their Prince enjoy as much Benefit as the rest hope for by the greatest Success they can propose to themselves : For what will it avail us, supposing our King should gain his Point, and get three or four Cities in *Flanders*, when it would be much better for us, had he none at all there ?

there? What do the *French* get when their King obtains Victory, takes a Place, or makes a Prize, when all the Honour and Profit belongs to their King, the Trouble and Charge to them? The *Hollanders* at last can hope but to be as they were, after the Ruin of their Commerce, and the Payment of so many *Gabelles* and Imposts, from which at present Death it self cannot free them: for the Dead pay Taxes there. How well would it be for *Europe*, how soon should we see Peace and Tranquillity reigning every where, did all People enter into this Consideration?

Yet it is not in this respect only, but in all others, that the Nomination of the King of *Portugal* would prove highly advantageous to us, which all Arguments and Pretexts con-

cur to justifie and applaud :
 For, if we consider Proximity
 of Blood, although it be cer-
 tain that the Emperour, the
 Dauphin, the Prince of *Bava-*
ria, stand in a nearer Degree,
 yet none can doubt but that
 the King of *Portugal* is descen-
 ded from *Donna Maria* Queen
 of *Portugal*, Daughter to *Fer-*
dinand and *Isabella* the Catho-
 licks ; who, should the Suc-
 cesshich of her Sister Queen
Donna Juanna have failed,
 had been lawful Heiress to
 this Monarchy : And since
 his Majesty (whom God
 preserve) is the last of that
 Line, excluding the Foreign
 Branches, King *Don Pedro* up-
 on his Majesty's Decease, may
 with a just Title pretend to
 the Crown. Another more an-
 cient Right belongs to that
 King as Successor to *Ferdinan-*
do King of *Portugal*, lawful
 Heir

Heir to the Crown of *Castile*, upon the Death of *Don Pedro Cruel*; for he was Great Grandson to *Don Sancho* the IVth. and had all the Justice on his side : Yet *Henrique* the 2d, a Bastard and Fratricide, got into possession notwithstanding, the Right of *Portugal*, which still belongs to the Successors of that King.

These Reasons (my Lord) may serve as a plausible Pretext for us to look to our Interest, and to think of that which may be for the general Benefit of the Kingdom, rather than the particular Advantage of Princes.

By his Mother, his Grandfathers and Great Grandfathers, that King is related to the greatest part of the *Grandeess* of this Kingdom; and will it not be better to have a King on the Throne,

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who

who shall esteem us as his Kinsmen, rather than one that shall look upon us only as his Vassals? Since the *Austrians* have held the Scepter, we never heard of an Alliance between the Royal Family and those of any of our *Grandeess*, contrary to the Custom of our ancient Kings, who greatly valued such Alliances, as the Kings of *Portugal* have always done; and this King *Don Pedro* hath lately given one of his Daughters in Marriage to the eldest Son of the Duke of *Cadaval*, which they of the House of *Austria* would never have done; for they hold us unworthy, even of their Bastards.

The *Portuguese* Government is so very gentle, that it may be said of the King and People reciprocally, that he is the Father of his Subjects, and they the Children of their King:
Of

Of this the Catholick Queen was very sensible ; and this Kingdom hath more than once desired to be under that Government. *Castile* in some Assemblies of the *Cortes* offered it self to King *Don Emanuel*. *Galicia* in our time wished to be delivered up to King *Don Pedro* ; upon the Death of the Kings *Don Pedro Cruel*, and *Don Enrique IV*. The greatest Part of the Nobility of *Castile* declared themselves in favour of *Portugal* ; and had the Kings thereof *Don Ferdinando* and *Don Alfonso* the Vth. been as well disposed as they were qualified for it, it had been easie for them to have got Possession of this Crown. But did we ever hear of such Self-denial in any Prince, either of the House of *Austria* or *France* ? With them Violence goes for Law ; nor do they
ever

ever think of giving a Reason for what they do; they make War at their Pleasure, not for the publick, but their own particular Advantage. If none pretend to conquer *France* (which is the only thing that would make the Vexation tolerable) why should the whole Kingdom suffer so much Misery to support their King's vain Glory? The Emperor in like manner thinks of nothing else but making his Power Arbitrary: which puts the Princes of the Empire upon complaining, and causes so much Clamour in the Diets, but all without Remedy; for want of Resolution to put a Stop to their Grievances; which is wanting to some, by reason of their Dependency: others have not power to put it in Practice.

Since then, (my Lord) we are sensible of the many great Inconveniences which we can't but expect from
from

from the Princes of *Austria* and *France*, and of the great Advantages which the *Portuguese* will bring to our Nation, why should we not prefer him to them? Should either of them get Possession, we shall be always involved in the same Wars, the same Troubles and Calamities : For whether *Austria* or *France* carries it, the Succession will necessarily become the Subject of great Contention. But if the *Portuguese* shall be chosen, things will succeed after another manner : for then we shall have one only Enemy to deal with, which is *France*, against whom the united Powers of all *Spain* will make a strong Opposition, and a much stronger will be made by all the other Princes of *Europe*, who, then free from that Jealousie which *France* or the Empire would otherwise give them, will favour our Resolution by uniting their Arms with ours ; their own Prudence prompting them to promote a Design

sign so beneficial to all *Europe*.

The Emperor considering that *France* is excluded, will not be so much concerned about the Succession of *Spain* ; for having but two Sons, he'll be taken up in securing to them the States he is already possess'd of : Or, if he shall attempt any thing against us, there is no Prince that will come in to his Assistance ; for it is not the Interest of any that he should grow more powerful than he is already : And for himself, all he can do will signifie but little ; it being out of his power to do us any harm, which the great distance renders impossible by Land, and his want of Ports and Fleets at Sea.

France, when he sees the House of *Austria* put by, will be somewhat cool'd in his Desire to conquer us : or if he shall endeavour it, our Love to Liberty will more strongly animate us to oppose him ; and we shall soon find *England* and *Holland* ready

dy to assist us; nay, the House of *Austria* it self will not be backward to help us. The *Pope*, the Head of our Religion, for fear of losing his Estates, by having the *French* for his Neighbours in *Italy*, and otherwise persuaded by his Interest, in consideration of the immense Sums wherewith *Castile* and *Portugal* enrich the Coffers of *S. Peter*, and contribute to support the magnificent Grandeur of that Court (all which will be lost if *France* should ever get the Possession of the Crown of *Spain*) will leave nothing unattempted to frustrate his Designs. So that in that case there being none to make any Diversion in *Portugal*; but we having the Forces of that Kingdom united to our own, our Fortresses Garrison'd, our Fleets to the *Indies* under good Convoy, our Troops all posted on our Frontiers, we shall find Work enough for *France*, or rather expect but little from thence.

This

This Re-union of all *Spain* will be of a mighty Advantage to our Conquests in *America*; for by help of those many Conveniencies that *Brazil* will afford us, our Commerce will flourish again, and consequently our Forces augment, whereby we may recover our ancient Vigour, and become formidable to our Enemies.

In fine (my Lord) this is a Matter that deserves our most serious Consideration, seeing of what vast Importance it is to us: for which cause I hope you will maturely weigh it as every one ought to do; and let no Man (for God's sake) think of making his Court, by gratifying his Majesty in that which will be of no Advantage to him, but will infallibly tend to the Ruin of us all.

France, I confess, would have a better Right to the Succession than *Portugal*, and so would *Bavaria* and *Austria* too, had they not forfeited it, either by their Renunciations, or on the account of their
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being Foreigners, and all of them by reason of the great Detriment and many Inconveniencies that will ensue to the Monarchy, and to all *Europe*, upon their Admission : But as for *Portugal*, it may be evidently demonstrated that there can be no Conveniences imagin'd but what will redound to this Kingdom upon the calling in of that King : For if we have regard to Right (give me leave to repeat it) it is all on his side, he being preferable according to the Laws of the Kingdom, to the three pretending Princes , on the account of his being a *Spaniard*, and not a *German* nor a *Frenchman*. If we consider the Benefit of the Nation, none can bring a greater; for *Portugal* being once United to *Castile*, there will be no necessity of so many Confederates to defend us ; or if we shall think fit to seek any Alliance to support our Resolution, there is scarce any Potentate in *Europe* but will be very ready to assist us, out of a desire
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to see a House establish'd that shall be able to hold the Ballance between those of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, that have been always Rivals in their Pretensions to a Fifth Monarchy. If we would have a King provided of a Succession, He of *Portugal* hath a very numerous one, which multiplies every day : If we desire a pious and pacifick Prince, his Kingdoms have by Experience found him to be such, which all *Europe* knows, and for which all the World admires him. If we wish for a King that is well affected to the *Castilian* Nation, this King is so much our Friend, that it is Recommendation sufficient for any Pretenders at the Court of *Lisbon* to be a *Castilian*, which is what the *Portugueses* themselves envy us for; and all *Castilians* that have approach'd this Prince's Person, assure us of from their own Experience. If we stand in need of a King, that should preserve our Rights, and oblige us with his Bounty; there is no Prince that hath

hath granted more Favours, or given more Titles, or been more careful to preserve the Privileges of his Subjects, or to distribute Justice equally among them. If we want a King, that shall keep to our Customs and Laws, in him we shall have one that abominates all that are foreign and vicious, promoting such as may prove beneficial. If we approve of a King, That by the *Decorum* of his Person, keeps up to the Majesty of his Character, there is not a Monarch in the World, in whom Majesty shows it self in so magnificent a manner, or so powerfully Attracts to it self the Veneration of Mankind. If we love a King, that is of an Illustrious Family, this Prince is descended on 22 sides from the Kings of *Castile, Leon, Arragon, and Navarre*, whose Royal Stock hath produced an Emperor, forty Kings, 15 Electors, 33 Sovereign Dukes, and a great number of absolute Princes and Princesses in all parts of *Europe*, not including this King. Don Pedro is not only a *Spaniard*, by

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being a *Portuguese*, but he is a *Castilian* both in Blood and Heart. In Blood on the Mother and Grandmother's side, Daughters of the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, and *de Frias*; and by his 4th Grandmother, the Queen *Donna Maria* Daughter of the Catholick Kings, (*i. e. Ferdinand and Isabelle*) and their Heiress upon default of the second Line, which now ought to be considered as Extinct, as being disnaturaliz'd, in case his Majesty, whom God preserve, who is the Chief thereof, should leave no Issue which I pray God to give him, tho' there may be cause to doubt it. And besides the repeated Alliances contracted between these Two Crowns, makes the Blood indistinguishable, of which 22 Marriages are a sufficient proof. The Kings of *Portugal* having contracted no more than four out of *Spain*, in which number I reckon that of this King *Don Pedro*, who hath married the Sister of our Queen. And he is so much a *Castilian* in Affection, that pre-

presently upon his coming to the Government, he clapt up a Peace with this Crown, and hath never since violated it in the least instance, notwithstanding all the importunities of our Enemies, and the Offers they have made him, as *Your Excellency* well knows.

If any desire greater conveniences yet, and wish for a King related to the Nobility, the Condes *de Oropeza* and *de Lemos*, and the D. of *Veraguas*, derive the Male Line of their Families from the House of *Portugal*; *Your Excellency* and my self bear in our Scutcheons the Arms of that King; The Dukes *de Medina*, *Sidonia*, *de Lerma*, *de Frias*, *de Arcos*, and *de Aveyro*, are all nearly related to Him, as indeed are most of the rest that have merited the Titles of *Grandees of Spain*, as being Descended from these Houses now mention'd, which is a sufficient reason, why they shou'd all concur in the same Resolution with us, without seeking for pretexts to oppose what is so apparently for their Interest.

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We may from Examples of the like Resolutions, well justify this of ours ; for we may demonstrate, that we are much in the Right in taking it, if we will but consult the Histories, and turn over the Annals of other Nations, which will afford us many Instances that will come up to our Case ; I shall only mention some few that offer themselves, of such as have Ascended the Throne without any Right at all. *Pepin* was plac'd in that of *France* by Election of the People, tho' he was in the remotest degree of Kindred to the Royal Family ; which notwithstanding, he was preferred to the other Princes pretending to the Crown, and even to the first and second Cousins of King *Childrec II.* the last of the *Mèrovingian* Race. Upon the Death of *Louis V.* his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Lorrein*, Brother to *Lotaire*, Father of the deceased, was right Heir to the Crown of *France* ; but notwithstanding his having all the Right on his side, the *French* chose
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Hugh Capet, who had no Relation at all to the Royal Family, as many affirm; or at least if he had any, as others will have it, all acknowledge that it was very remote and posterior to the others; And in these Elections, regard was had to the publick Good, without staying to Examine Titles; for People had an Eye to the Interest of the Nation, and not that of the Pretenders. The Cousins of *Childeric*, and he himself, were hated by the People for their Ambition, Arrogance, and dissolute Life, and were therefore set aside. And the Duke of *Lorraine* was thrown out, purely upon account of the Inclination they discovered to be in him towards the *Germans*: So that the French have no Reason to complain, having so formal an Example in their own House; and if they have a mind that we should show them one in ours, they'll find that the *Spaniards* can make use of their Right to chuse a well-deserving Successor to
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the Crown, for want of one to Inherit in the ordinary Course.

Recisinto, King of *Spain*, dying without Children, the *Spaniards* advanc'd *Bamba* to the Trone, of Kin indeed, but at a great distance, to the Reigning Family, setting aside the Brothers of the deceased as incapable, by reason of their Age, to manage the Scepter ; and for other Considerations, which as the Peers thought, made for the common Benefit of the Kingdom. Likewise upon the Death of *Don Alonzo de la Cerda*, who left a Grandson, the Son of his eldest Son *Ferdinando* that was lately dead, the Nobility chose the Uncle *Don Sancho III.* preferring him to his Nephew *Don Alonzo*, both by reason of the Childhood of the later, and his being Grandson to the King of *France*, an Enemy always abhorred by this Nation. Our Histories furnish us likewise with another Example, to shew that we are in Possession of a Right to chuse our King in the present

sent Case: Upon the Death of *Don Pedro* the Cruel, King of *Castile*, the Duke of *Lancaster* pretended to the Crown in Right of his Wife, eldest Daughter to the deceased King ; as did likewise *Don Fernando* King of *Portugal*, as Grandson to Queen *Dona Beatriz*, Daughter of *Sancho IV.* King of *Castile* ; But without any regard had to the Right either of the one or the other Pretender, the Crown was given to the *Conde de Trastamera*, Bastard Brother to *Don Pedro*, because that Election was then judg'd to be for the Interest of the Kingdom.

Many other Examples may be found in these and other Nations to corroborate the Right which they are in Possession of, to chuse for King, (upon their Sovereign's decease) a Prince, by whom the publick Weal' of the Nation, and the common good of the People may be secur'd, there being no reason, why they should subject themselves to a Tyrant, or
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one that's uncapable to Govern or Protect them, and suffer so many Calamities, as will necessarily befall them, for the sake of the pretended Titles of Strangers.

This, *My Lord*, is my Opinion and Vote, inspired by a true Spanish Zeal, and not by any deceitful self-Interest, or base underhand dealing: my Understanding may be Deceiv'd, but my Will shall never be Bias'd nor Brib'd. May Heaven bestow perfect Health, and a numerous Offspring on his Majesty, whom GOD preserve, that we may continue our Obedience to him and his; and be free from those alarms that his Indispositions give us; and the Dangers wherewith we are threaten'd in case of his miscarrying: I remain at *Your Excellency's* Command, and with great Sincerity and Affection desire an occasion to shew my Obedience; God Preserve you as many Years as I desire.

I Kiss the Hands of Your Excellency.

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A
DISCOURSE
OF A

Venetian Gentleman,

CONCERNING

The Succession to the Kingdom of Spain, and the Right of Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria to that Crown, with the Benefits that will result to the Monarchy and all the Estates of Christendom by his being preferred to all others.

IT ought to be suppos'd as a First Principle, That Princes were constituted for the Good of Kingdoms, and not Kingdoms for the Advantage

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tage of Princes ; of which we have many Examples antient and modern, in both Elective and Hereditary Kingdoms : in those Experience is a proof of that Maxim even at this day, nor in these are Examples wanting. For in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, upon the Death of *Don Martin*, the Duke of *Anjou*, the Duke of *Gandia*, and the *Condes* of *Urgel* and of *Frades*, having each of them a better Right ; the *Infante Don Fernando* of *Castille* was preferred to them all, as for his Royal Vertues, so also because it was thought more for the Benefit of the Kingdom. At the same time the same thing was done in the Kingdom of *Castille*, when, upon the Death of *Don Alonso* the Wife, the *Infante Don Sancho*, his Second Son, was advanc'd to the Throne, in Exclusion to *Don Alonso de la Cerda*, Grandson to the Wife King ; not so much because (as some will have it) the Right of Representation was not then in Practice, as
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for that it appear'd to the Kingdom that the more robust Age and experienc'd Valour of *Don Sancho* would be of greater Benefit to the Monarchy, than any uncertain Hopes they could entertain of the tender Years of *Don Alonso* his Nephew.

This being supposed, we are to consider, That the Renunciation of the two *Infanta's* of Spain, *Donna Anna* and *Donna Maria Teresa de Austria*, when they were married to the Kings *Louis* the XIII. and XIV. of France, was not only grounded upon the Publick Utility of Europe, that these two Great Monarchies should not be united, by means of these Marriages, to the Prejudice of other Potentates, and the Difficulty of preserving them under one and the same Government: But likewise upon the account of the Competition between those two Crowns, which is such, that the one will not yield the least Superiority to the other. For as a Daughter of France marrying

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into *Spain* loses all Right of Succession by the *Salique* Law, which they call Fundamental; so the Monarchy of *Spain*, not to yield even in this Circumstance, hath so order'd it, That the *Infanta's* who marry into *France*, shall before renounce all Right which they may have to the Succession in the Kingdom. Nor are they hereby in the least aggriev'd, for instead of a future and doubtful Succession, they gain a most illustrious Marriage and a vast Monarchy for their Posterity. And that this is the Principal Cause of the Renunciation, and not only the Incompatibility of the Crowns, is evident from the Renunciations themselves; for in them there is provision made, That in case the *Infanta* Queens shall become Widows without Issue, and return to *Spain*, they shall be restored again to the Right of Succession which they renounc'd, and may marry with the King's Consent; but there is no Care taken, that in case they

they should have any Children or Grandchildren, That one of them should inherit without uniting the Kingdoms, which could have been done if the Incompatibility of the two Crowns were the only Motive of the Renunciation, and not that which I have now assigned.

And to prove That to be the Principal Motive, there do not want Examples: there is one which in all respects comes up to the very Case in hand. The *Infanta Donna Blanca*, eldest Daughter to King *Don Alonso de las Navas*, was married to *Louis* the VIII. King of *France*; of which Marriage were born the Glorious *St. Louis*, and *Charles Comte of Anjou*, who was afterwards King of *Sicily*: after the Death of *Don Henrique* the I. of *Castille*, without any regard had to the Title of *Donna Blanca*, *Donna Berenquela* her Second Sister and Mother to *St. Fernando*, was advanced to the Throne, and that without the least Dispute; in-

ſomuch that the Hiſtorians of thoſe times do not ſo much as mention any Pretention of *Donna Blanca*, or of either of her Sons, to the Crown of *Caſtile*, altho the Inconvenience of the Union ceaſ'd in the Perſon of *Compte Charles*. So that we have all reaſon to believe, that theſe Renunciations were practis'd rather as a means to make the Marriages equal between the two Crowns then, on the account of the Inconvenience that would ariſe from the Union of them, altho that be ſo juſt and powerful a Motive.

The Excluſion then of all *French* Pretenders to the Succeſſion, in right of *Donna Maria Theresa de Austria*, late Queen of *France*, being ſuppos'd and prov'd, it ſeems that the Right undoubtedly remains in Prince *Ferdinando de Bavaria*, Grandſon of the Empreſs *Margarita*, Second Daughter to *Philip the IV. King of Spain*; and tho it may be objected, That the Arch-Duchefs *Maria Antonia* only

ly Daughter of the Empress, at the Contract of Marriage with the Duke of *Bavaria*, renounced, in favour of her Father the present Emperor, all the Right that she might have to the Succession of the Monarchy of *Spain*. Yet that Renunciation is groundless, for the following Reasons.

• *First*, Because that to make a Renunciation valid, it is necessary, that the Person renouncing should have in Recompence something of equal or little less value than the thing he gives up by the Renunciation, as it was in the Case of the *Infanta Donna Maria Theresa*. But it is certain that the Arch-Duchess gain'd nothing but a Marriage with the Elector of *Bavaria*; who, tho he be a great Prince and of an Illustrious House, yet his Estates come nothing near to those the Arch-Duchess gave up in consideration of that Marriage.

Secondly, Because the *Infanta's* of *Spain* and Arch-Duchesses of *Germany*, that have been married to Princes of an Inferiour Rank, have never renounced the Right of Succession; as is evident from the Matches of the *Infanta's Donna Isabella* and *Donna Catherina*, who were married to the Arch-Duke *Albert* and *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, there having been no such Renunciation required of them. Neither was there of the Arch-Duchess *Juana*, Daughter of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the I, when she was married to the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*: whence it appears, That this Renunciation of the Arch-Duchess, for want of due Motives, both Publick and Private, ought not to subsist, and, That the Prince *Ferdinando* her Son hath an undoubted Right to the Succession, in case the King of *Spain* hath no Issue.

Supposing

Supposing then, That this Prince hath Justice on his side, there can be no Reasons of Policy consistent with Christianity to oppose his Right. It remains now, that we mention the Conveniences in prospect which will accrue to the Monarchy of *Spain* and all *Europe*, and should give Life to so important a Negotiation. Let us consider the miserable Condition of the Kingdom of *Spain*, by reason of the King's want of Heirs; for tho' the *Austrian* Family be *German*, yet it is so *Espanioliz'd* by almost Two Hundred Years possession of the Crown, that they now account of it as National, as well because there is no natural Antipathy between the *Spaniards* and the *Germans*, those Nations being at so great distance from each other, as because the *Austrian* Princes that have reign'd in *Spain* have been so mild and gentle in their Government, that the People have been scarce sensible of the Inconveniences that others feel by the

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the Domination of Strangers. But at the same time, the *Spaniards* shou'd consider, that being under a necessity of having a Foreigner to reign over them, and the Dispute being between the Second Grandson of the King of *France*, the Arch-Duke *Charles*, second Son of the Emperor, and the Prince *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria* (it being vain to think of a Union of the Crown of *Spain* in the Person of the King of the *Romans*, or with the King of *France* in that of the *Dauphin*, which the *Spaniards* will never consent to, lest their great Monarchy should come to nothing, nor *Europe* endure, out of a just Jealousie of a too formidable Power in either of those Cases). The Dispute remaining between the Three aforesaid Pretenders, it is certain that the Person of the Duke of *Anjou*, the second of the *French* King's Grandsons, can never be acceptable to the *Spaniards*; as well for his want of Right, which has been proved, as for the natural

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Antipathy which is visible between those two great Nations. Nor can the *Spaniards* forget, that after the Death of *Henry* the Third of *France*, *Philip* the second of *Spain*, so great a Benefactor to that Crown, and the Catholick Religion in *France*, could never with all his Authority and Succours obtain to have *Isabel* his Daughter and Niece to *Henry*, admitted as a Pretender to that Crown, even on condition of her marrying a *French* Prince: And tho' they should not have so good a Memory in that particular, yet they must be sensible at present, that altho', in order to the bringing in of the Duke, they shall have large Promises on his Grandfathers part, of whatever they think fit to ask; yet when he is once got into possession, that Nation (according to custom) will perform so many of those Promises as are for their own Conveniency, while *Spain* shall be able only to make vain and fruitless Complaints. The Power of
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France, which is now so formidable, will be ever ready at hand to give what Law she pleases; *Spain* shall presently be fill'd with domineering *Frenchmen*, on pretence of Affection and Service to the new King; the Laws and Customs of the Country will be violated; the *Spanish* Gravity so opposite to the *French* Lightness (which they call *Brillante*), will oblige them to keep close at Home, or to endure at Court the extravagant Humors of their new Masters. The Privileges of the *Spaniards*, especially those of the Kingdoms of *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Catalonia*, *Valencia*, and *Biscay*, will soon be trampled upon; for why should they expect to be in a better condition than the Provinces of *France* it self, which are sufficient Instances of its being that King's chief Maxim, which his Grandson, no doubt, will bring well studied with him into *Spain*, That the Liberty of Kingdoms do much weaken the supream Authority of Princes: So that

that it evidently appears, that the Duke of *Anjou* hath neither Right nor Conveniency to plead for his being admitted by the *Spaniards*.

It cannot be deny'd, but that the Person of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, second Son of the Emperor, will be grateful to the *Spaniards*, for his being of the Male Line of the *Austrian* Family, which for these Two Ages hath reigned in those Kingdoms, as well as for the sake of the *Spanish* Blood, which the Arch-Duke hath in his Veins, as being the Great Grandson of *Philip* the Third. But his wanting the Right to succeed, a Point so much regarded by that Nation, and the Obstacles against his Admission arising from the present Constitution of *Europe* are such, that it will be a very hard matter to bring them to concern themselves for the Exaltation of that Prince. As to the Right, sufficient Proof hath been given, that it is on the Prince of
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Bavaria's side. And if we can prove, that the Advancing the Arch-Duke is not feasible; even granting that no regard will be had to Right, I suppose we shall have satisfied the design of this Paper.

Whoever hath the least knowledge of the Interests of those Princes who have no Right or Pretension to the Succession of *Spain*, will know for certain, that tho' they will be less concern'd to see that Monarchy preserv'd in the *Austrian* Family, by means of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, than they would be if it were conferr'd on the Duke of *Anjou*; as well by reason of the Distance between *Spain* and *Germany*, which will make the *Austrian* Greatness less formidable than the *French* Power would be, should a Prince of that House have the Succession, as because of the haughty Genius of that Nation, whose Designs of a universal Monarchy are so well known to the World, and

and who will have Means proportionable to the End they propose, by that Accession of Power, which *Spain*, govern'd by a Prince of their own, would afford them. Yet it is certain on the other side, that the said dis-interested Princes are not as yet wholly undeceived of their Apprehensions taken up in the last Age, of the unlimited Pretensions of the House of *Austria* to the Prejudice of them all. And tho' they may be satisfied them that their Fears are at present groundless, yet as Jealousie of one anothers Greatness, is not easily cured, they are still persuaded that the *Austrian* Power in *Germany*, *Spain*, and the better part of *Italy* may produce very great Inconveniences in time to come. For which cause we may be sure, that if the said Potentates oppose not the Succession of this Prince, they will never assist him with their Forces. And then it is certain, that when
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the *French* King shall, with all his Forces espouse his Grandsons Pretensions ; that the Emperor hath not Power to oppose them on the account of the Distance of his Dominions, and also his being taken up in a War against the *Turk* ; so that it seems evident, that for the *Spaniards* to engage themselves for the Succession of the Arch-Duke, unsupported by other Princes, will only serve to open their Gates to the *French* Arms, who invading at the same time both *Spain* and *Italy*, will without any considerable Opposition from the *Spaniards*, who of themselves are not able to withstand them, make themselves Masters of all the *Spanish* Dominions, and will unite them to their own Monarchy, if that be in their power, or bring them under the Dominion of the Duke of *Anjou*, or else perhaps canton them out among several smaller Princes, preferring the Advantage of their own Monarchy,

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to the Grandeur of the Grandson.

It being then neither just nor possible, that the Arch-Duke should succeed to the Monarchy of *Spain*, it seems that Prince *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria* remains without a Competitor, having the Right on his side, as hath been proved, and a possibility of succeeding, as I shall now endeavour to make out.

It seems to be beyond all question, that it is the Interest of all Princes and Estates of *Europe*, those that pretend for themselves excepted, to promote the Succession of this Prince; First, because that in order to restrain the formidable Power of *France* within Bounds, it is very convenient that the Monarchy of *Spain* should not be divided; for when it shall recover it self into a better state, as 'tis to be hoped it may in time, it will be a great Bridle to *France*, to hinder her from putting in practice her vast Designs. And it being so necessary, that all

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Dominions belonging to this Monarchy should be preserv'd entire; it must be for the common Interest of *Europe*, that Prince *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria* should have the Possession of them, as well on the account of the streight Alliance the Duke his Father is in with *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweedland*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, as because this Prince will bring with him no Accession of Estates to the Monarchy, which might give Jealousie. For as for those of the Duke his Father, their great Distance will make 'em to be of no Advantage to him, but rather a Trouble. Besides; that Prince when he comes to be naturaliz'd in *Spain*, will renounce his paternal Electorate in Favour of his Brother, in imitation of *Charles V.* who gave up his patrimonial Estates in *Germany* to the *Infante Don Fernando*, as well to accommodate him, as not to incommode the Monarchy of *Spain*, with Dominions
separate

separate from it at so great a Distance.

It is certain likewise that this Prince being once admitted to the Succession by the *Spaniards*, and supported by the aforementioned Potentates, *France* will not be so very forward to oppose him, as he would be to withstand the Arch-Duke *Charles*; for tho' upon the Admission of the Prince of *Bavaria* he will miss of some of his Designs, and be frustrated in that of promoting his Grandsons Pretensions, yet he will not be wholly baffled, but gain this Point, That the Monarchy of *Spain* shall not be entailed upon the House of *Austria*, a Union which hath always given so great cause of Jealousie to that Crown.

And the Emperor himself, when he shall see his Son the Arch-Duke *Charles* wholly excluded, will necessarily farther the Pretensions of his Grandson the Prince of *Bavaria*,

both to disappoint *France* his Competitor and Rival, and likewise on the account of the close Union which the Houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria* have always preserved, and which hath been much strengthened in the Person of the Prince his Grandson, who, though he be not of the Male Line, yet he is so nearly related, that he should account him as his own, and one of his Successors, considering the reciprocal Alliances of both Houses, and how much it is their common Interest to oppose the Greatness of *France*.

It appears then that the Pretension of the Prince of *Bavaria* is more just than that of his Competitors, and also more likely to succeed, for that he will meet with less Opposition from *France* than the Arch-Duke *Charles*. He will have *Portugal*, *England*, *Holland*, the Northern Crowns, the Republick of *Venice*, and all the Potentates of
Italy,

Italy, as interess'd, on his side, and that the Emperor his Grandfather cannot fail him for the Reasons now mentioned. It remains only that we shew that it is the Interest of *Spain* it self, whose Convenience is here chiefly consider'd, that the Prince of *Bavaria* should be admitted to the Succession.

The Monarchy of *Spain* ought to be looked upon as being in a very dangerous Condition, and that not only upon the account of the Weakness to which it is reduced by the several Accidents that Time hath brought forth, and the Emulation of the greater part of *Europe*, but also by the King's want of Heirs after two Marriages, and the little Hope there is of his ever having any ; so that she is now forced to look out for a Successor to the Crown, of a different Language and Customs, an Inconvenience to which all Nations lye expos'd that

have made Women capable of the Succession; and this being the greatest Misfortune that could befall her, she ought to have recourse to that Prince, who, as has been prov'd, is both in Justice and Equity the most proper for her. And this will further appear, when we consider the Conditions the Elector his Father will agree to; the principal of which is, That he shall come into *Spain* alone, and his Household shall be form'd wholly of *Spaniards*, or of Subjects of the Crown, by which Education a Prince of such a tender Age will soon come to be wholly *Espanioliz'd*; nor is there any Fear, that after his being admitted he should introduce any new Maxims or Customs, as well for that his very Education will endear the *Spaniards* to him, as for want of Power, which will not permit him to bring any of his Father the Elector's Subjects into the Government;

ment: For a Nation is never so secure from Insolence, as when the Prince hath not foreign Power sufficient to trample upon its Privileges. And in case the King of *Spain* shou'd dye before the Prince of *Bavaria* becomes capable of governing the Kingdoms himself, a *Junta* may be formed of the principal Persons of the Nation, and they have the Regency of the Kingdoms, the Prince assisting among them, in order to instruct himself in the Affairs of Government. Nay, though he should be of a competent Age, yet, by reason of his want of Experience and Acquaintance with his new Subjects, such a *Junta* will be very needful, though with consultive Votes only. That the Prince hearing the Sentiments of his Ministers, may take such Resolutions as are most convenient, till by Time and Experience he may come to act of himself, and after having seen the re-

gular Debates of the several Councils, take His Measures accordingly.

These Conveniencies to the Monarchy, agreed to by Compact upon the Prince of *Bavaria's* being admitted to the Succession, will be firmly observed for the Reasons now mentioned. But we cannot say that there is a like Security of what shall be agreed in behalf of a Child of *France* or the Arch-Duke. For the first of these will have so much Power that there will be no obliging him to stand to his Engagement, and his *Frenchmen* will be continually inciting him to break it, which will be a perpetual occasion of Disquiet and Vexation to the *Spaniards*; and altho there may be less cause to fear the Arch-Duke's violating his Agreement, yet the Power and Authority of his Father the Emperor, join'd with a Desire
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of his being more Absolute, will render the Treaties that shall be made with him the less secure, to say nothing of the Inconveniences of having the Kingdom drained of its Money, which there is great Cause to fear, from the continual Necessities of the Empire, of which *Spain* hath had sufficient Experience.

Before I end this Discourse, It will be needful to shew what little Ground there is for a some Notion, that by certain underhand Arts hath with great Success been insinuated into the Heads of the *Spaniards*, and hath pass'd for Currant in some other Parts of *Europe* likewise; which is, That the Formidable Power of *France* is such, that *Spain* can neither withstand it nor hope for any seasonable Relief from other Parts, and therefore ought to yield to the *French* Pretensions and
admit

admit of the Duke of *Anjou*, for fear of lying perpetually exposed to a calamitous War, and the hazard of being reduc'd into the state of a Conquer'd Country, when they shall have no other Laws or Privileges but such as shall be given them by the proud and haughty Conqueror. This no doubt is one of those Politick Contrivances of which *France* hath forg'd so many, whereby they have further'd the Pretensions of the Grandson with far greater Success than ever they could have done by all the *Troops* they had posted on the Frontiers. But whoever shall make the least Reflection on the present Interests of *Europe* will clearly see, that there is not any one Prince that will give Consent to so great an Augmentation of the *French* Power. For if in 1688, upon the *French* King's invading the *Palatinate*, on pretence of asserting the Rights of his Sister-in-law the Duchess of *Orleans*,

leans, there was so powerful a League form'd against him, as after a Bloody War of nine Years, obliged him, at the late Peace of *Reswick*, to restore not only what he had conquer'd in the War, but likewise several other Places of great Importance, which he had been in possession of by virtue of the Truce of 1684. How is it credible that the same Potentates, who so generally united to prevent *France* possessing itself of so small a Country, shall stand by and look on, while that King, already so formidable to all, shall make himself Master of so great a Monarchy as *Spain*? tho it be on pretence that the Duke of *Anjou* is to have the Possession. Or what Reason is there to think that *France*, which hath fewer Forces now than she had at that time, shall have such Success in this new Attempt, as Experience hath shewn
it

it was impossible for her to attain to then ? Whilst *Portugal*, no contemptible Kingdom either for Valour or Number of Forces, that stood Neuter the last War, is engag'd to withstand, to the utmost, the Pretensions of *France*. For the King of *Portugal*, of all other Princes, is the most concerned to oppose *France* on this occasion : for he knows very well, that should the Monarchy of *Spain* fall into *French* hands, that he will have a most Dangerous and Powerful Enemy to his Neighbour, who to be sure will never forget the Title that the House of *Spain* has to His Crown. The Republick of *Venice*, whom it imports so much to see the Powers of *Europe* equally balanced, will never give Consent that a Prince of the House of *France* shall be King of *Spain*, of *Naples*, of *Sicily*, and of *Milan*, who may
soon

soon, to the great Prejudice of the Republick, renew the old Pretensions to the State of *Lombardy*, wherein are the best Places the *Seigniory* hath in the *Terra Firma*. The Duke of *Savoy* will never endure to be lock'd up within the Dominions of the Duke of *Anjou* as Duke of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother, as King of *France*. The Princes of *Italy*, in that Case, will find themselves under a Necessity of either being great Vassals to these Princes, or wholly to lose their Sovereignty and Estates. The Interests of *Germany*, *England* and *Holland* are so well known, as it was manifest by the late War; and the Power of those several Potentates is so very great, both by Sea and by Land, that being bent upon the Exclusion of *France*, there is no doubt but they will render ineffectual all the Efforts of that Crown.

Tho

Tho the Weakness of the *Spanish* Forces be so much talked of, yet is it not so great but they may, if well look'd after, be enabled to put a Stop, for some time, to an Invasion from *France*. The Antipathy that is between the two Nations, the *Pyrenean* Mountains that divide them, the Impossibility of maintaining any great Armies in those Barren Countries, make the Power of *France* by much the less Formidable. Besides, when that Kingdom shall be invaded on the sides of *Germany* and *Flanders*, and the Coasts of *Spain* guarded with the Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, it will be impossible for *France* to succeed in the Attempt. And tho *Spain* has not wherewithal to hire these Auxiliaries, yet the Interest of the Princes themselves will oblige them to send 'em *gratis*.

All

All Reasons then concur to make it evident, That as the Prince of *Bavaria* hath a much greater Right than any of his Competitors, so 'tis as much for the Convenience of the *Spaniards* to admit Him for Successor to the Crown.

FINIS.

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